Volume 31, No. 1 Spring Number, 1942

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

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Communications on general ASSOCIATION matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Secretary. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Secretary.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

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THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held in the Atwater Kent Museum, 15 South Seventh Street, Philadelphia, on Second-day, 11th mo. 24, 1941, at 8.15 p. m. At the business meeting the President and Treasurer presented their annual reports, and the members re-elected the Directors listed on the opposite page. The Directors later met for a brief organization meeting, and elected officers.

After the address there was the usual social opportunity and collation, and those present inspected the exhibits on the various floors of the building.

The President, William W. Comfort, in giving his annual report, first expressed the thanks of the Association to the Board of Trustees of the Atwater Kent Museum for the renewed invitation to assemble in the Museum building. He then referred to the gratifying increase in membership, and to the enjoyable summer meeting held at Pennsbury and Fallsington. He announced that the *Inventory of Quaker Archives in Pennsylvania,* which had been sponsored by Friends Historical Association, would be ready for distribution within a short time; and explained that the research work on this book had been done by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey of the Works Projects Administration, but that the Association had raised the necessary funds to pay for the printing and binding.[1]

Edward Woolman reported that an oak tree had been planted on the grounds of the restored mansion at Pennsbury on the Delaware, as the contribution of our Association to the plan for beautifying the grounds. This oak tree had been grown from one of the acorns gathered in the Penn country in England, and sent over to this country at the time of the Penn celebration in 1933.

[1] Now available at Friends Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, and at Friends Central Bureau, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia. The price is $1.00 to members of Friends Historical Association and to libraries, historical societies, etc., and $2.00 to others.

A picture of the tree serves as frontispiece to this issue of the BULLETIN.

At the conclusion of the business meeting, an interesting address was given by Frederick B. Tolles, newly appointed Librarian of Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, entitled "New Lights in New England," on a little known part of the movement which came to a head elsewhere in the Hicksite separation. In New Bedford and Lynn, Massachusetts, there was no formal separation, because a few years previously, about 1822-23, the liberal-minded group withdrew and became Unitarians. Mr. Tolles derived his information largely from a contemporary manuscript account, lately come to light and now in Plymouth in the possession of Rev. Alfred Rodman Hussey, of Plymouth, a descendant of Elizabeth Rodman of New Bedford, and related by marriage to the family of Mary Rotch. These two women were elders in the New Bedford meeting in 1822, and the efforts of certain members of the meeting who were dissatisfied with their service to have them released from it, and the resulting efforts of the liberals to retain them, were the occasion of such tension as arose.

THE Directors, at the regular meeting held January 9, 1942, voted that the apostrophe should be dropped from the word *Friends'* as it has hitherto appeared in the name of the Association, so that the official name is now to be printed "Friends Historical Association."

GUILFORD COLLEGE has published a bit of its autobiography in the form of a play, which was presented on Charter Day, 1942. It is entitled "In Faith and in Unity" and was written by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert.

A PAPER by Joseph Hutchinson Smith that has long awaited publication has now appeared in the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County*, Pennsylvania, vol. 3 (1941), 3-19, entitled "Some Aspects of the Underground Railway in the Counties of Southeastern Pennsylvania." It is based on much first-hand inquiry from survivors of the movement and brings out with fresh emphasis the part played by Friends.

MARY PEACE: A LITTLE MAP MAKER AND DIARIST OF 1787-1788

By Agnes L. Tierney

IN THE YEAR 1782, Elizabeth Gibson Peace, wife of Isaac Peace of Charleston, South Carolina, and daughter of Rowland Gibson of Westmoreland Plantation, Barbados, all members of the Society of Friends, sailed from Charleston for England. With her were three of her children, Joseph, Mary, and Rebecca. Her object was to give the children educational opportunities under the care of Friends in England. She took a house at Kendal, Westmoreland. After a few years' residence there, she returned with Rebecca to Charleston, leaving Joseph and Mary at school. John and Isabella Wakefield, Friends who lived at Kendal, were to stand *in loco parentis* to the children after their mother left England. Mary's love for these Friends influenced her whole life.

Last summer there came into Caroline Hazard's hands at Peace Dale, Rhode Island, a little red leather diary. There was no name attached by which to identify the diarist; but internal evidence proves that it was Mary Peace, Caroline Hazard's and my great-grandmother, who kept the little record during the second half of her last year at Tottenham Friends' School near London. The title page reads: "The Ladies Complete Pocketbook, for the Year of our Lord 1788. Being Bissextile, or Leap-Year, and the 28th of the Reign of his present Majesty George III. . . . Vol. XXXIX. To be continued Annually." The table of contents lists such unQuakerly items as "Twenty-four New Country Dances" and "New Songs, Sung at Vauxhall." In the forefront are hand-colored engravings of "Ladies in the Dresses of 1787" and "Ladies of Quality in the most Fashionable Head Dresses."

On the first blank page are two entries which antedate the year of the diary. The first is: "Died 22nd 12th mo 1787 my dear Isabella Wakefield." The second will appear later in this paper.

In a pocket of the book is a list of the articles supplied for the little schoolgirl's wardrobe: 6 Nt Caps 8 Tuckers 6 Pr Sleeves 17 Pocket Handkerchiefs 2 neck Ditto 4 Tippets 3 Pr Pockets 2 Pinafores 1 Frock 6 Coloured Gowns 2 White Ditto 1 Pr

Stockings Cotton 4 Ditto Worsted 3 Pr Buckels 2 Pr Mits 3 Pr Gloves 3 White skirts 1 Stuff Ditto 11 Day Shifts 3 nt Ditto 3 Flaning Coats.

MARY PEACE was born March 6, 1775, and thus was seven years old when she was taken to England. She was sent to Tottenham Friends' School,[1] we do not know just when; but the diary spans part of the years in which her twelfth and thirteenth birthdays fell. The handwriting is for the most part that of a child; but occasionally, when she takes particular pains, it becomes a well-formed hand. The entries are few, with mostly long intervals between. The first in 1788 is of January 6: "Came to Wandser to spend part of the Holidays." As the little girl's spelling is not faultless we wondered if this could be "Windsor"; but the next entry, for January 14, would make it seem impossible: "Walked from Wandser to the Quarterly Meeting at Devonshire house."

From there on, the entries are mostly of visits paid to Friends in and about London. The names are difficult in some cases to decipher and some are obviously misspelled: Townsends, Willsons, Heads, Hambledons, Wards, Selsbys ("We went round by Islington to see Daniel Selsby and saw my Brother's Mashene." What could the machine have been—something which he had constructed at school?), Cumptons, Staceys, Forsters, Braithwaits, Partridges, Kendals, Chorleys and Harrolds. An E. Biddle seems to have been one of her schoolmates. Two marriages are recorded. For March 6 she enters: "this day Eliza Phillips and R. Lambert were married." On March 11: "This day was married Antony Thonne & E. Sterage [these names doubtful]. R. Jones was there she had a meeting here & preached a very good sarman. She said that she had known an ancient Frd say that he had rather have all the scorn that the Quagers had than have the Title of the greatst Noblemans son." This was of course

[1] "There was from an early period in the eighteenth century an important Friends' school at Tottenham, taught for many years by Josiah Forster, father of William and Josiah Forster, the anti-slavery leaders. Some of the most prominent leaders and Ministers of the Society received their early education at the Tottenham School." Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, London 1921, vol. ii, p. 675.

Rebecca Jones, the gifted minister from Philadelphia. In a letter which Mary wrote from the school she mentions a visit from the minister Samuel Emlen.

Between the weddings, on March 9, she records: "Went to London to see D. Willson at I. Fells went also to see the King Queen & princes Royal & Sophia the Queen was dressed in purple & white Satten princes Royal in white Satten."

Opposite each page for the recording of events is a page ruled for accounts. The first entry is "For a bun ½*d.*" She received from the Governess at the school each month an allowance of 5*s.* 3*d.* One day she must have felt very rich, for within three days she records: "Received from Friend Sarah Townsend 1*s.* Received from my Mother 3*s.* 6*d.* received from Governess 5*s.* 3*d.*" Her expenditures were mostly for tarts, fruit (orange 1*d.*), and postage on letters received. "Ribband for my Dols frock," "white gloves" (the day before the Thonne wedding), "a silver bladded knife for Tabby," "a comb," "a bottle of India Rubber" are other items. There is only one item of alms bestowed: "A Poor Women 6*d.*" When the time neared for her going home: "A Dols hat for Sister," "A Dunstable Basket," "a rung for my Keys"; and a few gifts presumably for teachers and schoolmates included "A Cork Screw for Governess 2*s.* 4*d.*" Also about this time: "Received from Frd Wakefields 5 pounds 5*s.*," which was perhaps to outfit her for the voyage home.

On March 27 is this entry: "Received the pleasing account from my Mother of our going home," and on the opposite page the next day: "Towards a Feast 2*s.* 6*d.*" On July 16: "Left London dined at Gravesend." July 17: "Set sail from Gravesend for Charleston on board the Olive Branch Cap. Angus." [The "Olive Branch" was doubtless one of Isaac Peace's merchant ships.] On September 22, 1788, is the entry: "Arrived at Charleston about nine O'clock in the Pilot boat." A fast crossing of sixty-eight days!

NOW having got the little maiden safely home we return to the second of the first two entries in the diary, which antedate the year for which the diary was intended: "October 30th I begun my Map 1787." The map which she began on that

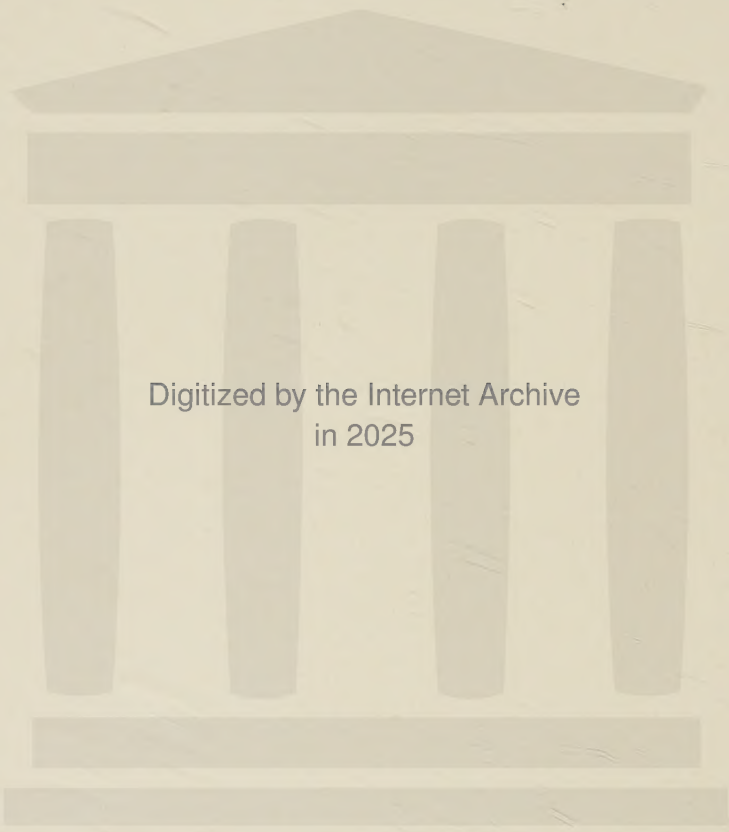
day is in the possession of her descendants and is the wonder of all who see it. It is a map of England and Wales with the surrounding seas and parts of the coasts of Ireland and France; it measures 22¾ by 19 inches. It is a sampler worked on fine white handkerchief linen. The outlines of the countries and counties are embroidered in soft-colored silks so that the general effect is of a pale rose color. The names of countries, counties, towns, and seas are in black outline stitch. These are so perfectly done that the first impression is that they have been printed in ink. Sometimes the use of a reading glass is necessary to convince the examiner that it is entirely the work of the needle.

The scroll, representing a stone monument surmounted by an urn of exquisite workmanship, bears the legend in six varieties of lettering:

A Map of
ENGLAND
and
WALES
wrought by
Mary Peace
at
TOTTENHAM
1788

It is a family tradition that her name was done with her hair but I am unable to detect any difference in the threads used. The foliage of scores of tiny leaves, surrounding and drooping over the scroll, is worked in silver thread which is still untarnished. The entire border of the map is embroidered with the same perfection. The closest scrutiny of the entire map reveals not a single clumsy or misplaced stitch. When we consider the few hours of daylight of an English winter, it is no wonder that the tradition is that the little worker spent some weeks in a dark room after finishing it. An entry in her cash account reads: "Oil of Almonds for my fingers." They must have been sadly chafed and pricked. That a child of twelve to thirteen could accomplish such a piece of work in the space of seven months is simply unbelievable.

Mary Peace's embroidered map of England and Wales.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IN 1793, at the age of eighteen, Mary Peace married Rowland Hazard, a Friend of South Kingston, Rhode Island. They had nine children, five sons and four daughters. One of the daughters was named for "my dear Isabella Wakefield," whose death is recorded on the first page of the diary. The name of the town of Wakefield also commemorates this beloved friend, and the mill village of Peace Dale was named for Mary Peace by her husband. Only three of the nine children married—three sons; and of these, one had no descendants who left issue. The eccentric bachelor, Joseph Peace Hazard, built the "Castle" at Narragansett which is now occupied by his great-nephew Isaac Peace Hazard. It was this Joseph Hazard who financed the publication of a history of Westtown School written by his schoolmate Benjamin Leedom.[2] The book was so unflattering in its descriptions of Westtown life and so full of pranks of pupils that it is said to have been long suppressed by the Committee, but now proves one of the sources of Westtown history. Rowland Gibson Hazard, Caroline Hazard's grandfather, whose descendants have Peace Dale as a place of residence or a rallying ground, was a philosopher and a man of large business affairs. He wrote a number of philosophical books.[3] My own grandfather William R. Hazard removed from Peace Dale soon after his marriage.

The eldest son, Isaac Peace Hazard, unmarried, was a successful manufacturer who with his brother Rowland Gibson Hazard incorporated the Peace Dale Mills founded by their father. In 1828, Rowland Gibson Hazard married Caroline Newbold of Bloomsdale near Bristol, Pennsylvania, sisters of whom married John Wistar and William Cope of Germantown. There is extant a charming account[4] of Rowland Hazard's and John Wistar's

[2] *Westtown Under the Old and New Régime*, by Auld Lang Syne (Benjamin J. Leedom). Wurzburg (Germany) 1883.

[3] Among these were *Essay on Language, and Other Papers*, Boston 1857 (2d edn. 1889), and *Freedom of Mind in Willing . . .*, Boston 1889 (1st edn. 1864).

[4] *An Account of the Wedding of Rowland Gibson Hazard and Caroline Newbold, Written for their Grandchildren, by one of the Bridesmaids. To which is added a copy of the Marriage Certificate.* September 28, 1828. N.p., n.d., but signed at the end by Emma Janvier Newbold, August 25, 1888.

double wedding in the old meeting house at Fallsington, written by one of Caroline Hazard's bridesmaids.

Mary Peace's daughters lived out their spans in Newport, where some of those still living in Philadelphia recall them as arbiters in the conservative society life of Old Newport. All the brothers and sisters retained their membership in the Society of Friends, but only William R. Hazard, who married a daughter of John Wilbur, continued to observe the "minor testimonies." The meeting house in Wakefield where Rowland G. and Caroline Newbold Hazard attended meeting is still standing.

Mary Peace Hazard died in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1853 and is buried beside her husband at "Vaucluse." This is the name of the country place of their son Thomas R. Hazard, who wrote the *Rhode Island Jonny-Cake Papers*[5] and *Recollections of Olden Times*[6] for local newspapers, amusing and delightful chronicles of the folklore of southern Rhode Island.

Mary Peace's living descendants number over 150. Among them are those skilful with needle or pen or both; and these, gazing with incredulous wonder upon her handiwork, are moved to "praise her in the gates."

THE Friends World Committee for Consultation has published a 24-page pamphlet written by Frederick J. Tritton, its secretary, on *The World Community of Friends.* It is a careful and condensed historical survey of movements towards expansion and towards unity from the beginning of the Society, the last half dealing with events since the first World War.

IN THE *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 56 (1938), Nelson R. Burr published in two parts "The Religious History of New Jersey before 1702," with a map and lists. Pages 243-249 deal with the Society of Friends, 249-250 with the Keithians.

[5] Printed in book form under the title *The Jonny-Cake Letters, dedicated to the memory of Phillis, my Grandfather's colored cook,* by Shepherd Tom, Providence 1882; reprinted, with biographical sketch and notes, by Rowland Gibson Hazard, under the title *The Jonny-Cake Papers of "Shepherd Tom"* . . . Boston 1915.

[6] Printed in book form under the title *Recollections of Olden Times* . . ., by Thomas R. Hazard, "Shepherd Tom . . .," Newport 1879.

THE QUAKERS IN CONNECTICUT: A NEGLECTED PHASE OF HISTORY[1]

By Nelson R. Burr

QUAKER historians generally touch Connecticut rather lightly, for the great centers of their faith have been elsewhere. Little has been known to others and even less has been written by them, concerning a most interesting phase in the history of this State. Not because Connecticut did not touch Quakerism, for in fact it laid a heavy hand upon the "peculiar people." The probable reason for the comparative neglect is that the sources of Quaker history in this State are scattered and somewhat obscure. Yet the "people in derision called Quakers" took a significant even if not a major part in Connecticut's religious history, which is still to be fully and sympathetically written. By itself, their contribution to the valiant contest for religious liberty would entitle them to earnest regard. And they have not spoken their last word to the State: they are still among us with their "concern" for humanity—however little the public at large seems to be aware of them. Very few who are not members of the Society know that there are now two meetings in Connecticut, both very much alive.

Quakerism has been here for nearly three hundred years. Almost as soon as they began to make a real impression upon Great Britain, Quaker missionaries started their journeyings in the American colonies and would not keep out of New England—where they were greeted in most places with about as much enthusiasm as an attack of the cholera or the smallpox. Colonial governments vied in persecution, and passed laws suggesting the Inquisition. If Connecticut did not hang any Quakers—as Massachusetts certainly did—it was not from any impulse of good will.

Their first appearance in the 1650's threw the Colony into a panic. The depth and sincerity of fear and hatred may be measured by the ferocity of the laws aimed to crush the "notorious

[1] An address delivered at the monthly meeting of the Connecticut Historical Society, April 1, 1941, and at a meeting of the Hartford Society of Friends, April 24, 1941.

heretiques." Reading them in cold print, one cannot believe that the frantic intolerance of the Old World had lost any of its venom in the ocean air. From 1656 to 1658 the General Court of Connecticut passed a series of increasingly savage acts against the Quakers. The first forbade any town to entertain them longer than fourteen days, on penalty of £5 per week, and the unwelcome visitors would be forced to languish in jail until sent away. Ship captains were compelled to transport them as soon as possible, on pain of £20 for not complying.[2]

As this seemed far too mild, next year the Court stiffened it to prevent the commonwealth from "being poisoned in their judgm[t] & principles." Anyone who even spoke with a Quaker must pay £5 for the privilege. Suspected members of the dreaded sect had to endure an examination by the magistrates and elders, and if proved guilty, go to prison or quit the colony. A few weeks later the legislators suddenly realized that the law had one possibly fatal loophole, which was plugged at once by an act to suppress all Quaker literature by fining the unhappy possessor 10*s* for each offense. That meant searching of homes: and what became of the old saw, that every Englishman's house was his castle?[3]

The crowning outrage was still to come, an act of October 1658, empowering local magistrates to punish Quakers and other heretics by fine, exile, or corporal punishment, and to apply the same to any person daring to bring them into the colony. The fine might run up to £10—ruinous to any but the rich.[4]

New Haven Colony—settled by an even tougher group of Puritans than Connecticut—laid on the whip with even greater fury. The first blow was a law of 1657, forbidding Quakers to enter or live in the colony and ordering the speedy suppression of any native ones, "for the better prevention of such dangerous errours."[5] That, however, was nothing to what was in store. In May 1658 the Court again turned its irritable attention to "a cursed sect of hereticks lately risen up in the world, w[ch] are comonly called Quakers, who take upon them y[t] they are imediatly sent of God

[2] Col. Recs. of Conn., i, 283-284.
[3] Col. Recs. of Conn., i, 303, 308.
[4] Col. Recs. of Conn., i, 324.
[5] Recs. of Col. of N. H. (New Haven), ii, 217.

& infallibly assisted by y^e^ spirit, who yet speake & write blasphemous opinions, dispise gouerment & y^e^ order of God in church & comonwealth. . . ." The legislators were in a vindictive mood: every person knowingly importing a Quaker should pay £50 for that mistake, and run him right out, unless he craved a bed in jail. Quakers coming on "lawful" business (not defined) could stay a limited time if they wouldn't preach, and had to take a guard about with them to see that they didn't. Woe to those who violated the law, for they faced imprisonment, severe whipping, hard labor, and finally transportation at their own cost. Penn's ideas of toleration had not yet been proclaimed.

Any Quaker presuming to come again, without permission, could be branded on the hand with an H (for heretic), imprisoned, and kept to work until sent away. A third offense would put a seared H on the other hand. No exception was made for women. A fourth offense would mean the dreadful torture of boring through the tongue with a hot iron, imprisonment, and labor. Native Quakers would suffer the same as foreign ones. Importation or concealment of Quaker literature was made punishable by a heavy fine. Such books, when detected and confiscated, would be locked up with the magistrates, whose minds presumably would be proof against any corruption. Nobody, however, could entertain or harbor a Quaker without losing 20*s* for each hour or lying in durance until the fine was paid. Anybody brave enough to defend Quakerism publicly would pay 40*s* for his first rashness and £4 for an encore. A third offense would mean banishment.[6]

THOSE LAWS were not idle threats—not in New Haven Colony. The records reveal the arrest and trial of several Quakers. In May 1658 Humphrey Norton, banished from Plymouth Colony in 1657, was arrested in Southold, Long Island (then a part of New Haven Colony) and tried before the plantation court of New Haven.[7] In October a mariner named Edmund Barnes was found ashore and called before the court for examination. Although not proven to have preached the "pernicious" doctrines, he was

[6] Recs. of Col. of N. H., ii, 238-241.

[7] Recs. of Col. of N. H., ii, 233.

ordered on board and warned not to return without permission. The captain was sharply rapped on the knuckles and told to be careful henceforth. At the same time Arthur Smith of Southold was hauled into court and asked "how he came to be corrupted wth ye opinions of the Quakers." The only possible answer, that he didn't know he was being "corrupted," irritated the court into giving him a whipping and placing him under a bond of £50 for good behaviour.[8]

The colony failed in its attempt to repress the irrepressible Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island. He defied the General Court in writing, harbored Quaker preachers, and in short made his home a headquarters for sowers of Quaker seed in New England. With a splenetic gesture the Court ordered £100 of his estate to be attached and not released until the magistrates received satisfaction for his alleged offenses if proved, and ordered him to appear at Court in New Haven. Evidently he ignored the summons.[9]

Another defiance came from Greenwich, a town long regarded by the stricter people of New Haven Colony as a nest of disorder, laxity, and heresy. One of the most irritating people there was Mr. Richard Crab, who neglected church and was found harboring a Quaker, Thomas Marshall. On December 1, 1657 the marshal at Stamford went to search the Crab homestead and seize the Quaker and his books. When the party arrived, Mrs. Crab shut herself in a room. When her husband at length opened the door, she bitterly scolded the magistrates as robbers of houses, persecutors, and blood-shedders and called the Puritan ministers hirelings. When the Crabs came up for trial at New Haven, Mr. Crab pleaded his own case, saying that he could not control his better half. Unimpressed, the court fined him, compelled him to give security for good behavior and exacted a promise to attend worship.[10]

The severity of anti-Quaker laws was sharpened by the fact that from 1650 to 1660 Puritanism was supreme in England,

[8] Recs. of Col. of N. H., ii, 276, 291-292.

[9] Recs. of Col. of N. H., ii, 364, 412.

[10] Mead, S. P., *Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich*, pp. 314-315. Recs. of Col. of N. H., ii, 242.

after the execution of King Charles I. Protest was likely to go unheeded, although the dictator Cromwell was not unfriendly to George Fox and even had an interview with him. The royalist restoration of 1660-61 brought an anti-Puritan régime disposed to curtail the independent New England governments. It granted a charter to Connecticut, compelled New Haven to surrender its separate jurisdiction and abolished the limitation of the franchise to Puritan church members.

After 1665 zeal against Quakers abated, even though as late as May 1668 the General Court ordered confiscation of all Quaker and other "heretical" books, and instructed county courts to have them "utterly suppress." [11] Quakers had friends at the court of Charles II; they probably had some influence in softening the rigors of the law. The Connecticut charter became an object of jealousy to royalist politicians and the colony tried not to offend them unnecessarily. In July 1675 came the first concession to toleration—suspension of the penalty against Quakers for not attending worship, provided they would not form any assemblies or make a disturbance.[12]

Within a few years Quaker ministers began to make some impression on the colony. The famous minister Burnyeat visited in 1672, and in the autumn of 1676 came William Edmundson, a friend of George Fox. It was his second visit to New England, and a dangerous one, as King Philip's War had recently been raging and bands of Indians were still roaming about. On a voyage from Newport to New York he felt a "concern" to visit the towns on the Connecticut River, and journeyed from the Sound through the woods to Hartford. On his arrival he sat down by the river to meditate and waited until he saw the people going to meeting. Following the crowd, he entered the meeting house and stood near the minister until service was over, then spoke to the congregation. They were "moderate and quiet" and many stayed to hear him when the minister and magistrates went away. When the meeting broke up, he went again to sit by the riverside, refusing an invitation to dinner, although he had not eaten that day.

[11] Col. Recs. of Conn., ii, 87-88.

[12] Col. Recs. of Conn., ii, 264.

Hearing the bells ring for afternoon service, the great minister felt moved to visit the other meeting house, where he found the congregation assembled with an armed guard, for fear of the Indians. His preaching created a sensation, and at a word from the minister he was arrested, placed under guard, and hustled so that his arm was injured and bled. Asked by the commanding officer how he could stand the cold, he observed that he was warmed by the hospitality which the religious professors of New England showed to a stranger! When the officer tried to excuse the severity, Edmundson told him that the ministers and magistrates would answer for it to God. He was lodged at an inn, where he discoursed again and spent the night. Apparently his words stirred some sympathy, and later he learned that his preaching "had set all the Town a Talking of Religion." [13]

Whatever secret adherents he won, the number of professed Quakers in the colony remained small. About four years after his visit the Governor, William Leete, declared that the vast majority of the people were strict or "large" Congregationalists, but that there were some moderate Presbyterians, only four or five Seventh-Day Baptists "and about so many more Quakers." [14] The Puritan ministers and magistrates were still so dominant that few ventured to defy them by open dissent.

After the opening of the eighteenth century there was a slow but steady drift towards religious diversity. As late as 1705 there was no organized church in the colony outside of the Congregational fold. There were some Rogerenes near New London, scattered Baptists in the eastern towns, and here and there some Quakers and Episcopalians. In 1702 the Episcopal Church began its invasion of Connecticut, when the Rev. George Keith preached in New London, and the Episcopalians at Stratford began to call for a missionary. Three years later a brave little band in Groton organized the first Baptist church in Connecticut, at Mystic.

All dissenters from the established Congregational churches began to take heart and demand religious freedom. Quakers led

[13] Andrews, F. D., *A Quaker's Visit to Hartford in the Year 1676*, pp. 3, 5, 7-13.

[14] Col. Recs. of Conn., iii, 299.

the way, calling for repeal of the law against heretics. Their brethren in England sent a petition to Queen Anne, and in May 1706 the General Court rescinded the law, so far as it respected Quakers.[15] From that time their legal position steadily improved. In the 1740's Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and Separatists were all besieging the citadel of intolerance, and with such effect that by the time of the Revolution anybody not disturbing the peace could worship as he pleased and support his own minister, on merely taking out a certificate of dissent from the local Congregational society.

The Quakers won a great victory in May 1729, when the legislature altered in their favor an act of 1708 for the relief of "sober dissenters." Quakers attending worship within or outside of the colony could produce a certificate of membership in a meeting, and be excused from the tax to support the Congregational ministry or to build a meeting house.[16] In October 1749 this act was ordered to be printed in the revised laws of the colony.[17] The days of real persecution were over, and the final triumph came with the Constitution of 1818, which abolished the connection between church and state, and the time-honored certificate of dissent.

Some Quakers fell under a cloud of suspicion during the Revolution, because of their principle of not bearing arms. In May 1777 the General Assembly required an oath of fidelity to the State, administered to Quakers only by way of affirmation,[18] as it was inconsistent with Quaker belief to take an oath. A few members hesitated to affirm, probably fearing that to do so would be used as an excuse for making them take up arms. Some were passive Loyalists. Now and then there was an instance of persecution: one member in Sherman, hunted as an alleged "Tory," is said to have left the State for the duration of the war. That was more likely to happen near the boundary of New York, where there were many Loyalists, including some who were anything but passive.

[15] Col. Recs. of Conn., iv, 546.
[16] Col. Recs. of Conn., vii, 237.
[17] Col. Recs. of Conn., ix, 498.
[18] Recs. of the St. of Conn., i, 226.

From New York, in fact, came the strongest element in the Quaker penetration of Connecticut. There were members in Westchester County long before the close of the seventeenth century. Their descendants and converts carried the faith along the boundary between the colonies, through the narrow, disputed strip of land known as "the Oblong." By 1750 there were meetings west of the line from the Sound to the northwestern corner of Connecticut. Westchester and Dutchess Counties became Quaker strongholds, from which ministers visited the western towns of Connecticut and eventually reached the very center of the State. The meetings at Peach Pond and Quaker Hill were within walking distance of Connecticut farms, and no doubt the act of May 1729 was phrased to accommodate a few members just over the line in Connecticut.

Within two years from its passage the Congregational church in New Milford was startled by a Quaker movement. The minister, Daniel Boardman, sadly recorded the secession of nineteen members, whose motive apparently was a desire for more freedom in worship, inspired by Quaker influences in near-by New York. So alarmed was the church by the departure of about one fifth of its membership, that it resolved to readmit the straying ones without even a public confession of fault—a rare concession in those times. In 1735 the church freed them from paying the minister's "rate," if the General Court would nod assent, and twenty years later New Milford voted to Quaker proprietors their just share of the common lands.[19]

The lone meeting received encouraging moral support from other Quaker communities, and especially from the meeting in Mamaroneck, New York. In 1747 the little society was honored by a visit of the great New Jersey minister, John Woolman, then on a preaching tour to the Oblong and Nine Partners meetings in New York. The members built their first meeting house in 1741 and later removed it to Lanesville. They had also a burying ground, about half a mile below the Town Bridge, on the west side of the Housatonic River. The removal to Lanesville took place probably before 1801, as the lot there was purchased in

[19] Orcutt, S., *History of the Towns of New Milford and Bridgewater*, pp. 59, 108-122.

1788. Another meeting house was erected on the same site about 1805 and was used occasionally as late as around 1882. Formal organization of the meeting occurred in 1777, by permission of the monthly meeting at Oblong or Quaker Hill. The records show a very active membership, contributing to care of the poor, to education, and to missionary work at New Haven and Canaan.[20]

After 1780 New Milford meeting tended to decline, mostly from emigration, and granted many certificates of commendation to other meetings. The members contributed to build meeting houses in other places, including one at Darien in Connecticut, and to support a Friends' school at Nine Partners. Their meeting was formally "laid down" in 1828 and its members were attached to Purchase, but meetings went on for many years. Its spirit is interpreted by an epitaph on the tombstone of Ira Wanzer in the cemetery at Lanesville:

> All is vanity that is not honest and there is no solid wisdom but is real piety.[21]

The near-by town of Sherman was in constant touch with Quaker Hill and had some excellent families "who paid no military tax, used the plain speech, and wore the quiet colors." They used to attend meeting across the line and some sleep in the cemetery at Quaker Hill. One of the Sherman members, John Leach of Leach Hollow, was accused of being a "Tory" in the Revolution. Probably he was simply a nonresister. Attempts were made to arrest him for trial, but he vanished. The town tradition was that his wife concealed him and bore food to him at night, refusing to reveal the hide-out, though threatened with a pistol at her head. The story runs that he went to Canada "for the duration." [22]

QUAKERISM planted several short-lived offshoots in the hill towns of northwestern Connecticut. Traces of its influence appeared in Cornwall late in the eighteenth century, when Elijah Steele, a deacon in the Congregational church, became a Quaker not long after his election and resigned in 1776.[23] Settlers from

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 108-122, 307-316.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 309-316.
[22] Rogers, R., *Historical Landmarks in the Town of Sherman*, pp. 8-11.
[23] Starr, E. C., *A History of Cornwall*, p. 87.

New York entered Salisbury in the 1730's, and among them were some Quakers who belonged to Purchase Quarterly Meeting and Oblong Monthly Meeting. In 1746 Oblong proposed to hold a "visitation meeting" at Salisbury twice a year, at the house of John White. Fourteen years later a meeting was permitted monthly for a year, with a visiting committee, and it was placed under Nine Partners Monthly Meeting at its establishment in 1769. Salisbury meeting was in the Oblong part of Dutchess County, and finally was included in New York.[24] A short-lived meeting was established at Canaan in 1820, as a part of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting. It started as a meeting for worship in 1807, at the request of five Friends near Norfolk, but was abandoned in 1839. There is said to have been a meeting house, and gatherings took place at the homes of Darius Camp and John Emmons for a time in the 1830's.[25]

From the great Quaker movement in Dutchess County sprang also the meeting in West Hartford, which now is of special interest to the recently organized Friends' meeting in Hartford. It originated as early as 1780, when some families came from Nine Partners to form a settlement and a meeting. Their meeting for worship started in 1788 and thirteen years later a preparative meeting was established as a part of Oblong Monthly Meeting. It became a monthly meeting in 1805, under the Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting. Bright hopes of growth grew dim, membership dwindled, and the preparative meeting was abandoned in 1828, when there were only five members.[26]

The community in West Hartford centered at Quaker Lane, which was opened in 1796. On February 1, 1799 three members were appointed to hold title to one acre of land on the east side of the road, which now includes a small cemetery. The lot was part of a large farm owned by Charles and Elisha Gilbert, who signed the deed. Soon a meeting house was built near the northwest corner, a school at the southwest corner. Meetings continued, at least once a year, until about 1847, and there is a tradition that people used to come from other places.

[24] *Inventory of Church Archives, New York City, Rel. Soc. of Friends*, p. 91.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 92.

In 1842 the meeting house became the first place of worship of the present St. James's Episcopal Church, West Hartford. Five years later the Society of Friends leased the schoolhouse to the East School District. About 1852 Benjamin Gilbert, a prominent Quaker, purchased both buildings and had them hauled by yokes of oxen to a lot northward on the west side of Quaker Lane and made into a dwelling. After a few years it was destroyed by fire. The cemetery apparently started in 1812 and there was a burial there as late as 1913. There are two funds, the income being used for upkeep of the cemetery inside the fenced portion. The town of West Hartford also has contributed to the maintenance. The iron fence around the plot was donated by Mrs. James P. Allen and erected in 1915.[27] Members of the Friends' meeting in Hartford are now engaged in clearing and improving the entire lot.

The chief families in West Hartford who belonged to the society were the Gilberts, Arnolds, Cadwells, and Sedgewicks. Some of the members had belonged to the Congregational church and were charged with heresy. For about two years the Quaker poet, John G. Whittier, was connected with the meeting while serving in Hartford as editor of the *New England Review*, 1830-32.[28] The Friends' meeting in Hartford, formally organized in 1940 and meeting in the chapel of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, has no historical connection with the meeting on Quaker Lane.

LATE in the eighteenth century Quakerism appeared in Stamford, particularly the portion then called Middlesex Parish, now the town of Darien. A meeting for worship was allowed in 1794 and fifteen years later a regular meeting, called "Middlesex," was established as a part of Purchase Monthly Meeting in New York. At first separate men's and women's meetings were held, but in 1840 joint meetings were adopted. Only six years later there were so few members that meetings were abandoned. There was a meeting house, erected about 1811, partly with aid from New

[27] Pearce, G. H., *History of the Quaker Cemetery, South Quaker Lane, West Hartford*, pp. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7-9, 11; Hall, W. H., *West Hartford*, pp. 83-85.
[28] Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

Milford. Tradition holds that the first member in Stamford, Catherine Selleck, used to hold meetings all by herself. The first minister was a woman, and the last preacher, Samuel Bishop, died in 1852. The meeting house was a small square building of the plainest sort and evidently disappeared many years ago, as nobody in Darien remembers it.[29]

Another stream of Quakerism flowed into Connecticut from Rhode Island, where for generations the Society of Friends was a powerful factor not only in religion but also in politics and education. For a few decades the eastern towns of Windham County became a source of Quaker influence in the State. Settlers arrived especially after textile manufacturing began in the 1790's. Rhode Island Quakers invested in the early mills, taking advantage of the abundant water power of the Quinebaug and other rivers.

About 1800 Friends in Pomfret started a meeting. As there were only a few families it was never very strong, and received help from the members at Smithfield, Rhode Island, in building a plain meeting house. The building is said to have been burned about 1880, and the organization evidently had become extinct long before that time.[30] There is some evidence that Quakers lived and worshiped in Thompson. A "society of Quakers" there is mentioned in a Gazetteer of Connecticut and Rhode Island, published at Hartford in 1819.[31]

The strongest and most influential meeting in eastern Connecticut flourished in Plainfield. It was founded by members from Rhode Island, who established manufacturing in the town. About 1815 they began the erection of a meeting house, which was demolished by the furious "September gale" of that year, long remembered in Connecticut. Another was built and stood for many years on Black Hill in the northwestern part of the town. It is described as resembling an old-fashioned house, one and one-half stories high, with separate entrances for men and women. A partition ran through the middle of the house, and it

[29] *Inventory of Church Archives, New York City,* pp. 73-74; Hurd, D. H., *History of Fairfield County,* under *Darien*; Huntington, E. B., *History of Stamford.*

[30] Bayles, R. M., *History of Windham County,* under *Pomfret.*

[31] Pease and Niles, *Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island,* under *Thompson.*

is a tradition that the left side was used for ordinary and the right for "secret" meetings.

The preparative meeting at Plainfield continued until 1838, when it was officially abolished and the members were transferred to the Foster meeting for worship, just across the line in Rhode Island. The small meeting for worship was discontinued in 1851, and the meeting house was sold for twenty-five dollars and moved to a farm below Plainfield, to be used as a dwelling house. Plainfield meeting was very active at one period and had a noted school, conducted by Rowland and Benjamin Greene. Among their pupils were several famous Friends, including Susan B. Anthony, a pioneer advocate of women's rights and female suffrage.[32]

No account of Quakerism in eastern Connecticut would be complete without mention of the school established in Canterbury by a brave Quakeress, Prudence Crandall.[33] She was born in New Hampshire, but her family moved to Rhode Island, where she and her sister Hannah became members of Greenwich Monthly Meeting in 1819. She settled later in the Friends' community at Plainfield and became so successful as a teacher that the people of Canterbury heard of her. In 1832 they encouraged her to purchase a large property and open a high-grade academy for young ladies.[34]

She soon belied her name, if not her principles, by admitting to the school a pious and intelligent Negro girl who wanted to become a teacher among her own people. Miss Crandall flatly refused to expel her, and all the white pupils were withdrawn. She consulted the famed abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, who advised her to continue the school for Negro girls only. She advertised it as such, and the town blew up. A committee of leading citizens vainly remonstrated with her. With the encour-

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[32] *Inventory of Church Archives of Rhode Island, Society of Friends,* p. 54; Bayles, *op. cit.,* under *Plainfield;* Larned, E. D., *History of Windham County,* vol. 2, under *Plainfield.*

[33] See a detailed history of this school in this Bulletin 22 (1933), 35-55, in an article entitled "Prudence Crandall and the Canterbury Experiment," by Alfred Thurston Child.

[34] Klain, Z., *Educational Activities of New England Quakers,* pp. 111-114.

agement of Garrison and like-minded people, and in spite of violent denunciation, she opened the school for twenty Negro girls.

Then there was another explosion. A town meeting denounced the school as a project of racial "amalgamation" and abolitionism, while the people began a determined effort to destroy it by all kinds of annoyances and persecutions. The Congregational church shut its doors to the teacher and pupils, who found a more Christian spirit in the Baptist church at Packerville. The village physician dared not go near them, and they were threatened with prosecution as vagrants. On May 24, 1833 the legislature passed a law aimed against the school, and the town rejoiced. A month later Miss Crandall was arrested and imprisoned, and in August was tried at the Windham County Court. Mr. Arthur Tappan, a wealthy antislavery merchant in New York, provided for her defence and the jury failed to agree. She was convicted by the State Supreme Court, but the Court of Errors evaded a formal decision.

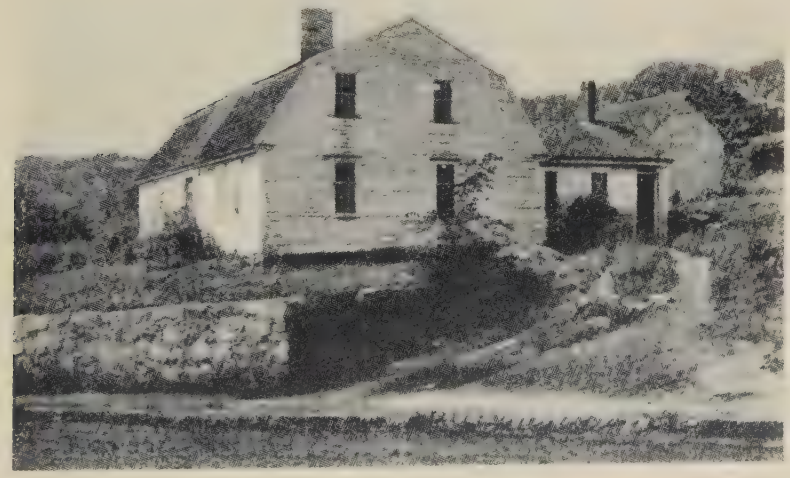
In the meantime the school continued under the care of Mr. and Miss Burleigh and Miss Almira Crandall, Prudence's sister. Children came from some of the best Negro families in the land, and were deeply attached to their principal. But the townspeople made life so miserable for the school that it had to be abandoned, after seventeen months of practical siege.[35] Today, in the schools of Connecticut, white and Negro children attend the same schools and nobody appears to be shocked. To that extent Prudence Crandall has been vindicated.

At the very time of her persecution Quakerism in Connecticut was declining. Its height came about 1820, when there were seven meetings: at Darien, New Milford, Canaan, Pomfret, Thompson, Plainfield, and West Hartford. One by one those candlesticks were taken from the altar and by 1880 Quakerism had virtually ceased to exist. The meetings were formally "laid down," their records given to the great meetings in New York and Rhode Island, the meeting houses were sold or burned, and the cemeteries became places of memories and pilgrimage.

Charles Lamb once said, that although the organization of the Quakers might perish, their principles never could while Christian

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-114.

The Village of Canterbury from the South. Reproduced from the frontispiece of an anonymous pamphlet, Statement of Facts Respecting the School for Colored Females, Brooklyn, Conn., 1833.



House in Hope Valley, R. I., where Prudence Crandall was born. Reproduced from Three Papers Read before the Westerly [R. I.] Historical Association, p. 21.

men and women lived on the earth. Contrary to expectation, Quakerism has not died in America. Today, with its modern schools and its witness for Christ in many branches of social service, it is again on the march. After a long period of quiescence, the society has sprung into life again at Hartford and New Haven, with two active meetings, the results of informal gatherings in previous years. Both are linked with meetings at Springfield and Northampton in the Connecticut Valley Association of Friends, and their membership is growing.

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PHILADELPHIA QUAKERISM IN 1749 AS SEEN BY A FINN

By Henry J. Cadbury

ONE of the best known accounts of colonial America to be given by travelers from Europe is that of Pehr Kalm (1715-1779), professor of natural history and economy at Abo Academy in Finland. His journey to the Middle Atlantic colonies and to Southern Canada was reported in three volumes in Swedish, *En Resa til Norra America* (Stockholm 1753-1761). It was translated and published in whole or in part in various German, English, Dutch, and French editions. The author's manuscript for a fourth volume was finished, but never published, and was finally destroyed by a fire at Abo in 1827. A few years ago the diary notes for this unpublished part were discovered by George Schauman at the University Library at Helsingfors, and were edited and published in their original form by Fred Elfving in 1929. An English translation was included in the second volume of Adolph B. Benson's *The America of 1750, Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (New York 1937).

Kalm was by profession what we should call a botanist. His trip to North America was suggested by none other than the great Linnaeus, who honored his pupil by giving to the American mountain laurel the scientific name, familiar even to many laymen, of *Kalmia latifolia.* But Kalm's observations covered a

wide range. His professional contacts brought him in touch with the Quaker botanists Peter Collinson in England and John Bartram in Pennsylvania. In each place also he attended a Friends' meeting. The meeting in London was described as follows:[1]

The 12th of June, 1748

The Quaker's Service.—In the afternoon I was in one of the Quaker's churches to see their ceremonies at God's service. They had neither pulpit, nor altar, but only benches. The men sat mostly separately by themselves, and the women on their side also separate, and they did not mix with each other, as is done in other churches.[2] Nearly all the men had their hats on their heads, and they only took them off while prayers were being read. Here there were no regular priests, but any one of them, be it man or woman, was a spiritual priest, who began to speak and preach in the church, as the spirit, according to their belief, gave them the inspiration. To-day there preached two old men, of whom the one who spoke last, delivered a very beautiful sermon. He scarcely said anything which he did not at the same time prove from the Holy Scripture. It all pointed to this, that men ought more and more to put off their sins, and seek to enter into fellowship with God. This people is a very praiseworthy body, because they are commonly more temperate and sober-minded, more peaceable, more charitable, and betake themselves more to guarding against all resentment, and outwardly sinful life, than a great part of the Presbyterian as well as of the English Church, in both of which latter they do not commit the great fault of neglecting the Sacraments like the Quakers, who are never baptized, and never go to God's Holy Communion, because they say that they are spiritually baptized, and also are spiritually partakers of our Saviour's body and blood, besides some other points in which they err.

Further on, in my description of Pennsylvania, which is a place entirely of Quakers, I have more to tell about this people, when I shall produce the *Rules* and *Church Ordinances,* according to which they are regulated, and which they hold as a *chose sainte,* that only the principal among them have in *manuscript,* but which are never allowed, with their knowledge, to be seen by anyone else.[3]

As Lucas the editor noted, the promised account of Quakerism in Pennsylvania hitherto has not been forthcoming. Now,

[1] English translation from *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England,* translated by Joseph Lucas, London 1892, p. 71.

[2] In Kalm's account of Philadelphia, which is given below, he says that men and women sat together in London.

[3] On the privacy with which the Philadelphia Discipline was guarded until it was first printed in 1797 see this BULLETIN 24 (1935), pp. 23, 90 f.

however, in the rough notes for Kalm's unpublished volume a long if unfinished portraiture of the sect as seen by the Finnish traveler is available. The following English translation is based upon that of Benson; but I have made certain changes and additions, not specifically noted in the text, to make it agree more nearly with the original Swedish.[4] No annotation is needed. Unfortunately the speakers whom Kalm heard cannot be identified. John Smith in his diary under the same date tells of attending a meeting in Philadelphia at which only Joyce Benezet spoke. Probably Kalm attended the other meeting in the city—the Bank Meeting, at which Sarah Morris and Michael Lightfoot were frequently engaged in vocal service, but they cannot be assumed to be the persons mentioned by Kalm.

December the 7th

Quakers.—To-day I was out at the Quakers' church or so called meeting to see their worship. Once before I saw such a service in London, and once in this city, where they have two meeting-houses or churches. It is known that the Quakers are a religious sect that arose in England during the last century, of whom the majority is found in Pennsylvania, since this province was granted to Penn, who was a Quaker and who brought his religious followers to this territory. But I should like first to describe the service that took place in their church to-day, and then speak about their faith and customs.

The Quakers in this town attend meeting three times every Sunday from ten to twelve in the morning, at two in the afternoon, and finally at six in the evening. Besides, they attend service twice during the week, namely on Tuesdays from ten to twelve and on Thursdays at the same time. Then also a religious service is held in the church the last Friday of each month, not to mention their general gatherings, which I shall discuss presently.—To-day people appeared at ten, as the bells of the English church were ringing. We sat down on benches made like those in our academies on which the students sit. The front benches, however, were provided with a long, horizontal pole in the back, against which one could lean for support. Men and women sit apart. (In London, they sat together.) The early comers sit on the front seats, and so on down. Nearest the front by the walls are two benches, one on either side of the aisle, made of boards like our ordinary pews, and placed a little higher up than the other seats in the church. On one of

[4] Benson, *op. cit.* ii, 648-652. The original in Pehr Kalm, Resa till Norra Amerika, ed. Fredr. Elfving, Tillägsband (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland cxx), Helsingfors 1929, pp. 116-121.

them, on the men's side, sat to-day two old men; on the other, in the women's section, were four women. In these pews sit those of both sexes who either are already accustomed to preach or who expect on that particular day to be inspired by the Holy Ghost to expound the Word. All the women who come into the church are dressed in the usual English manner and likewise the men. When a man comes into the meeting-house he does not remove or raise his hat but goes and sits down with his hat on.

Here we sat and waited very quietly from ten o'clock to a quarter after eleven, during which the people gathered and then waited for inspiration of the Spirit to speak. Finally, one of the two aforementioned old men in the front pew rose, removed his hat, turned hither and yon, and began to speak, but so softly that even in the middle of the church, which was not very large, it was impossible to hear anything except the confused murmur of the words. Later he began to talk a little louder, but so slowly that four or five minutes elapsed between the sentences; finally the words came both louder and faster. In their preaching the Quakers have a peculiar mode of expression, which is half singing, with a strange cadence and accent, and ending each cadence, as it were, with a half or occasionally a full sob. Each cadence consists of two, three or four syllables, but sometimes more, according to the demand of the words and meaning; *e.g., my friends//* put in your mind// we can// do nothing// good of our selves// without God's// help and assistance// etc. In the beginning the sobbing is not heard so plainly, but the deeper and further the speaker gets into his sermon the stronger becomes the sobbing between the cadences. The speaker to-day made no gestures, but turned in various directions; occasionally he placed one hand on his cheek; and during most of the sermon kept buttoning and unbuttoning his vest with his right hand. The gist of his sermon was that we can do nothing good of ourselves without the help and support of our Savior. When he had stood for a while using his sing-song method he changed his manner of delivery and spoke in a more natural way, or as our ministers do when they say a prayer. Shortly afterwards, however, he began again his half-singing mode of expression, and at the end, just as he was speaking at his best, he stopped abruptly, sat down and put on his hat.

After that the group sat quietly for a while looking at each other until one of the old women in the front bench arose and immediately the whole congregation stood up and the men removed their hats. The woman turned from the people to the wall and began to say extemporaneously a few prayers with a loud but fearfully sobbing voice. When she had finished praying she sat down, and the whole congregation with her; then the clock struck twelve, whereupon after a short pause each one got up and went home. The man's sermon lasted exactly half an hour. During the sermon a man would get up now and then, but in

order to show that he did not do so to speak he would turn his back to the front of the church—doubtless to show that he did not arise from any spiritual inspiration. There were some present who kept their hats off; but these were not of this flock, only strangers who had [like Kalm himself] come from curiosity and not because of any special prompting by the Spirit.

The meeting-house was whitewashed inside and had a gallery almost all the way around. The tin candle-holders on the pillars supporting the gallery constituted the only ornaments of the church. There was no pulpit, altar, baptismal font, or bridal pew, no priedieu nor collection bag, no clergyman, cantor nor church beadle, and no announcements were made after the sermon, nor were any prayers said for the sick. This was the way the service was conducted to-day.

But now I shall describe how it was often conducted otherwise. Many times after a long silence a man preaches first, and when he gets through a woman rises and preaches; and after her comes another man or woman; occasionally only the women speak; then again a woman might be the first, and so on alternately; sometimes only men rise to talk; now and then either a man or woman gets up, begins to puff and sigh, and endeavors to speak, but is unable to squeeze out a word and so sits down again. Then it happens, also, that the whole congregation gathers in the meeting-house and sits there silently for two hours, waiting for someone to preach; but since none has prepared himself or as they say feels moved by the Holy Spirit, the whole audience rises again at the end of the period and goes home without the members having accomplished anything in the church except sit there and look at each other. The women who hope to preach and therefore sit in a special bench generally sit the whole time, keeping their heads bowed, or holding a handkerchief with both hands over their eyes. All the other women on the other hand sit upright and look up, and do not cover their eyes. Here the men entered by a special door and the women entered the church through their special door and likewise they went out without both using the same entrance and exit.

I shall now say something about their clothes and manners, in so far as they vary from those of others. The women have no clothing that differs from that of the other [English] ladies, except that I do not remember having seen them wear cuffs, and although they censure all adornment I have seen them wear just as gaudy shoes as other English women. But the men's clothes differ somewhat from those of other gentlemen. For instance, they have no button on their hats, and these are neither turned up entirely nor turned down, but just a trifle folded up on the side and covered with black silk, so that they look like the headgear of our Swedish clergymen. They wear no cuffs; they never take off their hats, neither when they meet anyone on the road nor when they enter a stranger's house nor when they receive friends at their

own home; they make no bows and hate all curtsies; neither men nor women of them ever address each other or anyone else as *Mr., Mrs., Miss, Your Grace, Your Excellency, Your Reverence* except only *my Friend;* neither do they say *"You"* to anyone, always *"thou"* and *"thee."* Thus, a son addresses his mother with *"thee."* If they say they have been with others, then they say, I was with the Friends so and so, naming them. Although they pretend not to have their clothes made after the latest fashion or to wear cuffs and be dressed so gaily as others, they strangely enough almost always have their garments made of the finest and costliest material that can be procured. So far as food is concerned, other Englishmen regard the Quakers as semi-Epicures; for no people want such choice and well-prepared food as the Quakers. The staunchest Quaker families in the city are said to live the best. Yet in the matter of drinking they practice restraint.

The majority of the colonists did not look upon them as any *societas pia,* as they at first represented themselves, but as a political body. They cling together very close now, and the more well-to-do employ only Quaker artisans, if they can be found. If a skilled workman, laborer or someone else of their faith backslides and joins another church, they have nothing more to do with him. The Quakers have a general fund from which they lend money to their poor, at little or no interest, according to the circumstances of the borrower. Often when one of their tradesmen get into financial difficulties, the Friends will collect a sum and present him with it. They have overseers who go about and see how the brothers live, as can be seen more in detail from their discipline.

When two members wish to marry they attend the monthly meeting together, rise and announce jointly and loudly that they expect to take each other as man and wife. This is repeated at three such meetings in succession, so that it requires three months before the banns are duly proclaimed. For further details, see their Discipline.

Although some of the Quakers live very well, on the other hand there are those . . .

There are various other minor references to Friends in the newly discovered fragments of Kalm's notes. The following part of a discussion on the Penn family is perhaps the most interesting;[5] it shows that the suspicion that William Penn was a Catholic[6] continued long after his death, also that the constitution which had been promulgated for the province was believed to have been the work of some skillful hands:

Remarks on [William] Penn. Mr. Lewis Evans told me the following about Penn: there is good reason to believe that W. Penn was not

[5] Benson, *op. cit.* p. 725; Elfving, *op. cit.* p. 221.

[6] Cf. this BULLETIN 23 (1934), pp. 95 f.

a real, good Quaker at heart, for he was in reasonable favor with King James II of England, who as we know was a strong Catholic. It is true that W. Penn in a letter to the archbishop in London assured him that he was not a Catholic; but as a politican he might well have been clever enough to make that assertion; it would not have been wise in those days to let anyone know that he was of the Catholic faith. However, all Quakers wish to believe that he was a member of their Society; but it is known that often Catholics conceal themselves under that name among the English.

It is believed by most people that the form of government which Penn furnished to his province, and in accordance with which it was to be ruled, was drawn up by Penn himself, since it bears his name; but there is strong evidence that it had first been outlined and formulated by Sir William Jones [1631-1682] in England, who was one of the best men that England at that time possessed in the field of law. He is said to have been attorney-general of England [from 1675-1679].

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Thomas E. Drake

The American Friend

Westport Monthly Meeting, in Central Village, Massachusetts, celebrated its two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary on December 14, 1941.—Jan. 14, 1942, p. 37.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"The End of a Chapter," by Gilbert and Minnie Bowles, reviews the story of their long years as Friends' representatives in Japan.—Nov. 13, 1941, pp. 165-167.

Friends Intelligencer

"Reminiscences of Harrisburg Meeting" tells of the origins in 1906 of this first Independent Friends' meeting in Pennsylvania.—Nov. 1, 1941, p. 708.

"Joe Cox's Trees Live On," by Andrew W. Hepburn, in *The Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 31, 1942, pp. 18 ff, tells of the preservation of a stand of virgin forest near the Quaker settlement of Paoli, Indiana.

"Everybody Trusts a Quaker," by Nina Wilcox Putnam, in *Coronet*, July 1941, pp. 55-58, is a short and rather sensational account of Quaker relief activities, past and present.

BOOK REVIEWS

Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam, by William I. Hull, Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History, Number five. Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1941. xvi+314 pp. 15 illustrations. $3.50.

PROFESSOR William I. Hull of Swarthmore College, in writing about William Furly and the Quakers in Rotterdam, has added an excellent companion volume to his earlier book, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*. In doing so he has not only added to a better understanding of Quaker history on the continent of Europe but he has also made a significant contribution to the history of the United Provinces during the seventeenth century.

When one attempts to deal with a subject as limited in scope as the history of a small sect in a single city the danger of getting lost in details is a very real one. If Professor Hull had yielded to this temptation I should not have considered his present volume of great value, but he entirely avoided this mistake.

In spite of the wealth of detail, in spite also of the fact that necessarily names are mentioned scarcely familiar to the average historian, we are not left with the impression that the Quakers in Rotterdam are a group of curious people of little influence, whose only merit appears to be that they provide a historian of the year 1941 with an occasion to prove how many insignificant facts can be dug up if one only has the patience to dig.

Quite the contrary is the case. After reading Dr. Hull's book we are convinced of the fact that Quakerism, quite independently of the number of people who adhere to its principles, by reason of the very nature of its teachings, was a world influence from the very start. Benjamin Furly, in Professor Hull's story, is not a local figure, mildly interesting; but through his relations with men of wide renown he becomes a participant in a movement which exceeded the narrow limits of the city of Rotterdam and indeed those of the United Provinces. We need but mention the names of George Fox, Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, and John Locke to convince us of the fact that we are dealing with a movement of very wide range indeed. Furly's home becomes the *pied-à-terre* for visitors from all countries, particularly England. Furly's fortune, but above all his character and reputation, lend substance and even respectability to a belief and practices very different from those familiar to the average member of the Dutch Reformed Church in the seventeenth century.

On the whole the inhabitants of the city of Rotterdam were willing to maintain friendly relations with the Quakers. When the latter refuse to register their marriages the authorities go more than half way to meet their religious objections. There is, to be sure, a mild persecution partly fostered by the Calvinist ministers, but the matter does not get very far because Dutch tradition is against religious intolerance. Indeed, in the chapter on the "Half-baked" Quakers (page 185), a mistaken translation

from the Dutch quite misrepresents the situation. The English translation reads: ". . . some of the bell-wethers were confined for a time in the mad-house and afterwards whipped." The latter half of this sentence in the Dutch reads, "en daarna geslaakt wierden." *Slaaken* does not mean to whip but to release. It follows that the sentence should be translated: "some of the bell-wethers were confined in the mad-house but afterward released." This changes the meaning entirely and goes far to prove that the persecution was the reverse of serious.

It is interesting to note that the Lowlands have known a threefold reformation: the Anabaptist, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic. Calvinism had won the day but the Anabaptist tendencies had never quite disappeared. The notion of the "inner light" was not foreign to the Dutch mind even though this identical expression was not used. When Grotius and the Armenians contend that the use of our individual powers of reasoning should lead to personal convictions rather than to universal explanations of truth, as in a creed, they are not so far removed from George Fox and Quakerism as one might think.

May I add in conclusion that Dr. Hull's book is well documented, well illustrated, and clearly printed. An excellent piece of work.

J. A. C. Fagginger Auer
Professor of Church History, Harvard University

The Education of Negroes in New Jersey, by Marion M. Thompson Wright. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 815. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. 227 pp. $2.35.

NEW JERSEY is an interesting State in which to study the history of Negro education. Lying as it did before the Civil War midway between the old divisions of South and North, slavery and freedom, plantation agriculture and diversified farms, it was affected by both Southern and Northern attitudes on the race question. And now, being both urban and rural, industrial and agricultural, and having resort cities for the better-off and factory towns for the more recent European immigrants, it is a kind of hothouse for social experiment. Religiously, culturally, politically, and economically, it is and has long been a land of diversity rather than uniformity. And it is this variety, a variety which one neglects when he thinks of New Jersey in J. T. Adams's terms, as a "bedroom for New York and Philadelphia," which adds interest to any study of the institutions and social attitudes of the state.

Mrs. Wright's book has many of the earmarks of a Ph.D. essay, but it has more passion in it than most such efforts, for it is the story of an underprivileged race by a member of that race. Her professional degrees and her present position as Assistant Professor of Education in Howard University indicate that the author had good technical equipment for her work. But training has not produced in this case the water-gruel objec-

tivity common to most doctoral dissertations. Mrs. Wright has a thesis to maintain, which she does from the preface of her book to the conclusion. It is that equality of the races in education is vital to the successful development of the Negro race and to the survival of American democracy. Conversely, advocates of segregated schools, whether they are prejudiced white people or shortsighted and clannish colored people, are enemies, conscious or unconscious, of the best interests of American society.

The story which Mrs. Wright tells begins with the earliest efforts of certain religious bodies to educate the slaves in the tenets of Christianity. Others, such as the Friends, were further concerned to care for the minds and spirits of their Negroes, both before and after emancipation. Abolition societies and philanthropists, many of them Quaker or Quaker-inspired, promoted Sunday schools or charity schools for Negroes. Eventually Negro leaders arose to further the education of their people, and Negroes benefited from the growth of free public education in the State in the mid-nineteenth century. A law of 1881 prohibited racial discrimination in the public schools, but the practice since that date has been varied rather than uniform, with Negroes sometimes welcoming and whites sometimes forcing a segregated school system in certain communities. "Dual" schools are more common in the southern part of the State than in the more urban and socially heterogeneous northern area.

Friends will find that their part in this story of Negro education has been exhaustively and sympathetically treated, and will be interested in the larger story and in the author's interpretation. A lack of an index and an unusually large number of technical errors or omissions in the bibliography, footnotes, and acknowledgments mar an otherwise excellent study. Shocked as the Curator is to find allusion to the *Quackerana* Collection at Haverford College (p. 226), he is nevertheless grateful to the author for the light she throws on Friends and Negroes in New Jersey.

Haverford College THOMAS E. DRAKE

Jennifer, by Janet Whitney. New York, Morrow, 1941. 427 pp. $2.50.

JANET WHITNEY'S first considerable venture into fiction might have been reviewed a year ago, when it appeared. Indeed, the reviewer read it at that time and formulated, in a general way, his review; but the BULLETIN has been so crowded that space has failed. And now the book has been read a second time, perhaps with even greater pleasure, the former estimates confirmed and a few obscure points in the narrative cleared up, and the conviction strengthened that *Jennifer* can be safely recommended to those who wish an interesting, even thrilling, story, yet one that does not descend to the claptrap that characterizes what we all recognize as "trash." It has been criticized as containing too many coincidences or improbabilities, as if so much of interest or adventure could not naturally be crowded into one life; but the story is competently told.

In the year's time the book has had its own history. The publishers regard it as their most successful fiction venture of the year, and are asking for more from the same pen. It has gone through four printings; for eight consecutive weeks it was on the list of best sellers prepared by the New York Sunday *Herald-Tribune.* It has appeared in an English edition, and this too has gone through four printings. No review has been noted (and it has been liberally reviewed) that has panned it. Booksellers say that the main market for fiction is those whose friends are embarking upon an ocean voyage or convalescing in a hospital. But stay-at-homes, in sound health, should hear of *Jennifer,* and read it too.

The strongest impression upon rereading is of the rapidity of the action. Jennifer starts as a mere child, born about the turn of the last century, the daughter of a well-to-do physician, and farmed out in a poor family because her mother is deemed too delicate to stand the distractions incidental to a child in the house. In this family she gains insight into the wretchedness of the poor, increased as the use of machinery in the early days of the industrial revolution throws men out of work and forces them to wonder if they should imitate their brothers across the Channel who had only recently stormed the Bastille and beheaded Louis and Marie Antoinette. But in no time she is a young girl, then a young lady of sixteen, now at home and marriageable—so skilfully are the snapshots of her passing life delineated. And here the two conflicting forces about her appear—her childhood friend, solid, lovable, honorable Christopher North, almost like a brother to her, and a dashing, brilliant villain, her cousin Philip Trefusis, favored by her mother, interested mainly in her money—to whom she becomes engaged.

But on page 90 her ailing father has already been nearly murdered (by Philip, who wants to succeed to his estate at the earliest moment), and in another thirty pages Jennifer has been convicted of the murder and sentenced to execution and has had her sentence commuted to transportation to Botany Bay in Australia, where convict colonies were conquering a new continent. The five-month voyage from England to the southeast corner of Australia by way of Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope (this was about 1825, and the Suez Canal was not opened till 1869) brings her to a new life in a frontier society, where brutality was considered necessary to control the convicts. Here too come Philip, who had forced her to marry him even in prison, and Christopher, who had worked for her reprieve and secured proofs of Philip's own guilt, and had come to be near the girl he had always loved. Her struggles with a heartless and cruel master, her success in winning a place of respect through her ability and her beauty and charm, her part in an insurrection of the convicts, and the final settling of accounts between Philip, her evil genius, and Christopher, her good genius, are told with fluent rapidity and absorbing interest. Indeed, events crowd upon Jennifer so rapidly that she herself is not prepared for happiness when it is offered to her: dis-

illusioned by the injustice of her conviction and the selfishness and villainy of Philip, who kills himself in decent despair at his disgrace and his own villainy, she doubts even Christopher, and only after he has wooed long and patiently does she finally realize that he does indeed prize her beyond all else on earth, and yield to his entreaties. Christopher, meanwhile, partner in his father's banking house in England, has decided to settle in the new colony as the resident partner of the bank, the more especially as Jennifer is loath to return to the land of her humiliation; and they start off their new life together with the growing young colony.

The reviewer once heard Janet Whitney tell how she got the background for her book on Elizabeth Fry, and is prepared to believe that the history of *Jennifer* is accurate and that the local color is dependable. Certainly it is vivid. About the verdict of fifty or a hundred years hence we are not now concerned: in this present world we have a skilful and compelling narrative and an altogether charming story. Many will have heard of *Jennifer*, and have not yet read it; but now is the time.

T. K. B.

Secret History of the American Revolution, by Carl Van Doren. New York, Viking Press, 1931. xv+534 pp.; illustrated. $3.75.

ONE of the most interesting parts of this book is the first page of the Preface, in which it is recounted that the complete correspondence between Benedict Arnold and Major André has recently come to light among the Clinton papers now preserved in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. The marvel is that such papers were preserved at all, and that if preserved they should not have been discovered, or made accessible to historians, till now. André was aid-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton, who succeeded Lord Howe as commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Colonies; he was the confidant of Arnold and the go-between in Arnold's negotiations. The letters as preserved are voluminous and detailed; and, with many by Clinton and others involved in the narrative, are printed in a verbatim transcript at the end of the volume, thus providing source material of the first importance to later investigators. The book has the infinitude of detail ordinarily found only in a work of fiction, reminding one somewhat of Francis Hackett's *Queen Anne Boleyn*, published a few years ago (1939); and the justification of the detail is that it is all contained in the sources.

The kernel of the *Secret History* is the treason of Benedict Arnold, now definitively proved to have been ruthlessly planned, haggled over and bargained for (he was to have received £20,000 for the betrayal of West Point and its garrison, with additional allowances for loss of confiscated property, emoluments, etc.), and carried out over a considerable period of double dealing; but the narrative brings the doings of a great number of lesser characters to light, and furnished data for many of the blanks in the story of the Revolution as it has hitherto been written. Carl Van

Doren is thoroughly at home in the field of historical research, and his *Benjamin Franklin*, published in 1938, shows an immense knowledge of the detailed history of the period. This book makes clearer than ever before the fact that what we now call treason was everywhere—that the Revolution in its early stages was as much a civil war as a revolt against British rule, and that the patriots were deemed guilty of treason by the loyalists, and the loyalists by the patriots—until by the slow growth of popular support, strengthened by the solidity and leadership of Washington and the fire and enthusiasm of groups of younger patriots all through the Colonies, it became clear that a new nation had been born, and that those who worked against it would have to bear the odium of the charge of treason rather than those who supported it.

In spite of the dramatic and essentially interesting character of the story told, the *Secret History* is not easy reading for anyone but the well informed historian. The layman would do well to prepare himself by rereading the story of the Revolution in one of the standard histories or college textbooks, in order to be able to fit the episodes into the larger plan; and even then it will be difficult to absorb the immense detail of the narrative. The author apparently feels that he cannot afford to write lucid narrative prose, with full details only where they would help the story, as a fictional writer would give them; and the result is a style that seems overloaded with documentation. Carl Van Doren might have trusted the public to accept his word on his use of sources—indeed, much of the source material pertaining to Arnold is printed in the Appendix; but perhaps the main intention was to give an adequate impression of the immense amount of new material which his researches have brought to light, and of known material only now brought into relation with his main theses. For the sources are immensely wider than the newly utilized Clinton papers. The book must be read with maps and reference books at hand, and with a willingness to stop and recall the complicated pattern already drawn as each new stroke is added.

Friends will be interested to know how their spiritual ancestors fare in this searching inquiry into the struggle that went on between patriots and loyalists for the upper hand. The Quakers, as is well known, were largely loyalist—they dreaded the horrors of civil war, and tended to support the existing order. But Quaker sympathies were on both sides; and some Quakers even joined the military forces. John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle, whose sympathy with the loyalists was perfectly open while the British had possession of Philadelphia, stayed there when most loyalist sympathizers left the city with Clinton in 1778, and were arrested by the incoming patriots, convicted of high treason for having joined the enemy and served against their countrymen, and hanged. Nathaniel Greene, a general in the Continental army, admired Arnold (as did Washington) till his treason became known, but was guilty of no known double dealing. Timothy Matlack, secretary of the executive council, was suspected by

Berkenhout, a British secret agent, of being open to bribery; but Van Doren's judgment is: "There seems to have been nothing in Matlack's career to warrant Berkenhout's suspicion." The only clear case is that of Arnold's wife, Peggy Shippen, who presumably was a Friend. Van Doren makes clear that she knew of the conspiracy and aided it to the extent of her considerable ability.

The *Secret History* is a fascinating book. The author says in the Preface (p. v): "The Appendix, with its exact text of the Arnold-André correspondence, must rank at once with the most striking and revealing Revolutionary documents published in the past hundred years."

T. K. B.

PENNSYLVANIA LIVES

The following is quoted from the jacket of the first volume issued under the above title:

> Pennsylvania had its birth in one of the most successful social experiments in all history. Its men and women have wielded a powerful influence ever since on all aspects—political, cultural, industrial—of national life, and while the contributions of the more prominent citizens are well known, few realize the importance of the roles other Pennsylvanians have played in shaping the destiny of the Commonwealth and the Nation. The University of Pennsylvania Press believes that the activities of these less familiar figures—soldiers, lawyers, scholars, writers, scientists, politicians—deserve a lasting record and that their life histories will be read with pleasure and profit by all who take pride in the achievements of the state. With this in mind the University Press is launching a series of readable biographies which will tell the stories of these individuals in their many fields of activity.

The first two volumes in the series, on John White Geary, and John and William Bartram, are reviewed herewith.

John White Geary: Soldier-Statesman, by Harry Marlin Tinkcom. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. vii+155 pp. Illustrated. $1.75.

THE EDITORS of *Pennsylvania Lives* chose a man of action for the initial volume. Geary naturally gravitated toward places where life was strenuous and critical. In his young manhood he was a civil engineer in Kentucky and then in Pennsylvania, active in the process of empire-building as represented by the construction of the Portage Railroad, which first surmounted the obstacle of the Alleghenies in order to compete with the Erie Canal, and used the first great railroad tunnel in the United States. But at the age of twenty-six he volunteered for service in the Mexican War (1846), and organized a company to go with him. His shrewd and practical judgment and his study of the art and science of war combined to make him an able officer, and he was active on the

front until the city of Mexico capitulated and peace was declared, returning home with the rank of colonel.

The following year, 1849, he was appointed postmaster of San Francisco. The gold rush had brought more than 10,000 adventurers inside a few months; yet this assemblage of men and women had almost no municipal government. He organized a postal service, and was then elected mayor. The town had no public treasury, nor public buildings for administrative offices; no police, no jail, no public improvements, no way of determining boundaries of real estate or of giving a valid deed of sale, none of the moral restraints of an established community. The public debt was $1,500,000, on which the city was obliged to pay three per cent per month. Geary plunged vigorously into the confusion, and was instrumental in bringing about a kind of order. At the age of thirty-one he could look back on a distinguished career, and he returned to Pennsylvania.

But not for long. He was offered the governorship of Utah, but declined. But when President Pierce urged him to become governor of "Bleeding Kansas" in 1856, he thought it his duty to accept the thankless task. Kansas was practically in a state of civil war; the proslavery and the antislavery leaders were both sending soldiers and settlers into the State, each side determined to win Kansas for itself, each seemingly awaiting only the proper provocation; the local officials were prejudiced, corrupt, or inefficient. Geary was instructed to go to Kansas and *create order*; and this he did, largely through the power of his own personality. He was an imposing man physically, utterly fearless, and absolutely honest. It became apparent after a time, however, when the greatest tension had subsided, that he was being used merely to prevent a situation that might bring discredit upon the Democratic Party; and as he no longer received support from Washington in his efforts to be impartially just, he resigned in 1857.

Again he had a short time at home in Pennsylvania; but at the first shot of the Civil war he offered his services, and fought throughout the War, again with ability and distinction. Returning in 1865, he was almost immediately caught up in the political whirl, this time on the Republican side, and was elected governor of Pennsylvania, serving from 1867 to 1873. He was now no less in the thick of a tense situation; for the period of the reconstruction, when railroads were building, millionaires were becoming common, great capitalistic empires were being founded, and industrial Pennsylvania was coming into its own, was comparable in its way with the gold-rush days in California. Geary performed his tasks during two terms with energy, honesty, and courage. He died barely a week after retiring from office.

Mr. Tinkcom's biography is readable; the volume is attractively printed, with an appendix containing a list of sources, and an index. A map of the Mexican campaign, and perhaps a second map of the campaigns of the Civil War in which Geary participated, would have been

helpful. A life of an active man who takes part in movements of national importance stimulates the reader to look into a general history, in order to place the hero in the larger framework of his time. The initial volume of the series promises well; for though there is no mention of including Penn and Franklin, who run no risk of being forgotten, a series that perpetuates the memory of men of the caliber of Mifflin, the Bradfords, the Bartrams, Priestley, and Geary, is performing a valuable public service. T. K. B.

John and William Bartram: Botanists and Explorers, by Ernest Earnest. Philadelphia, University Press, 1940. vii+187 pp. Illustrated. $2.00.

FRIENDS will perhaps be more interested in the Bartrams, father and son, than in the soldier and administrator Geary; for though they had some difficulties with their meeting, at Darby, they regarded themselves as Friends, and form a link in one of the best Quaker traditions. The Friends of a past day, finding some of the arts closed to them—they declined on principle to enjoy or to practice music, fine art, or fictional or dramatic literature—often turned to nature and to natural science; and there has been a succession of Quaker botanists, led by the Bartrams, who have achieved national or international fame.

John (1699-1777) lived his life in the pre-Revolutionary period. He was a plain Quaker farmer, without formal schooling; but he became observant of plants and other natural objects, and made himself one of the great naturalists of his generation. He knew many of the distinguished men of his day; Franklin was an especial friend and supporter. He corresponded—and argued—with Linnaeus, and helped Linnaeus's pupil Peter Kalm (part of whose account of a visit to America is printed elsewhere in this issue); he corresponded with Peter Collinson, a wealthy Quaker of England, who exchanged seeds and plants with him, and who introduced him to a considerable number of others, including the Quaker Dr. John Fothergill, who joined in paying their American correspondent for his pains in hunting new plants for their gardens. With this support John Bartram traveled widely over eastern North America, from Florida to Canada, making notes and shrewd observations, and laying the foundation for many a pioneering essay or experiment in the science of botany. He was one of the founders of the American Philosophical Society; he was elected to the Royal Society of Sweden; he was appointed Royal Botanist in America to King George III, with an annual stipend that continued till interrupted in the latter part of his life by the Revolution. He was one of our great early scientists.

His son William (1739-1823) had the advantage of his father's distinguished circle of acquaintances, and received a careful classical education; but botany, ornithology, and drawing were his favorite pastimes, and his drawings of birds, plants, turtles, shells, and other natural objects were much admired in the circle of his father's English friends. He was not

very successful in business in his youth; but he accompanied his father on some of his travels, and thus acquired a taste that became one of his chief urges. He was supported by Dr. John Fothergill, who did not wish a genius to go to waste in unprofitable mercantile pursuits. His journeys, mainly in the South, were written up in volumes of *Travels,* in which the spirit of the man is shown.

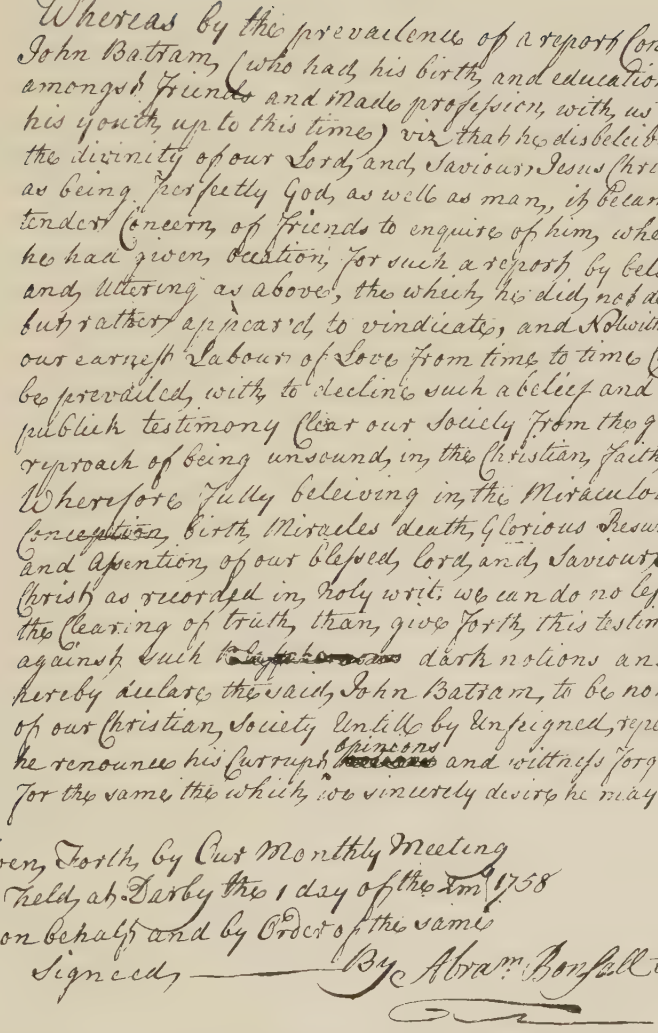
The influence of this work on the imagination of Coleridge (who discovered Bartram) and Wordsworth has long been known, and is admirably treated by Professor Earnest. "Kubla Khan," "Ruth," "The Prelude," "The Excursion" show passages which must have been inspired by Bartram. In an excellent chapter called "The Crest of Feathers," Earnest does justice to Bartram's studies of the primitive American races; and in another chapter, "The Spirit of the Century," he shows how Bartram's thought penetrated European thinking on philosophical and religious subjects. William Bartram was a cosmopolite of the eighteenth century. But better than most of his contemporaries, he was able to reconcile the apparently conflicting claims of science and religion, and remained vigorously scientific and sensitively religious.

This second volume of the series on the Bartrams is of necessity quite different from the first. The reviewer noted a few evidences of clumsy craftsmanship: the author of *The Seasons* is given as James Thompson (p. 84); Linnaeus was criticized "for putting too many species into one genera" (p. 76); and several sentences are so phrased as to make one question their construction or meaning, such as: "Like the Junto, the aims of the organization were as much practical as scientific" (p. 31). A bibliography of the writings of the Bartrams would have been helpful; and it would be interesting to know the dates at which they appeared in foreign translations. Such information, in an inoffensive appendix, could hardly interfere with the readableness of the volume.

Friends will be interested to know that the American Philosophical Society, 104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, is about to publish some of the manuscripts of John and William Bartram in two quarto volumes, edited by Dr. Francis Harper (see this BULLETIN 29 (1940), p. 45). These volumes will contain much hitherto unpublished material, and will be embellished with many illustrations, including early maps, drawings by William Bartram that have not been reproduced, and modern photographs of some of the places referred to in the text. There will be full annotations by Dr. Harper. At present a comparatively small edition is contemplated, as the potential market is regarded as small. Inquiries from those interested might increase the size of the edition. The price is to be $5.00 for the two volumes.

The Bartram biography fits well into the series of *Pennsylvania Lives:* it concerns men of real significance, who have not hitherto had their due. It satisfies the hopes roused by the high quality of the Geary volume.

T. K. B.


Whereas by the prevailence of a report Concerning John Batram, (who had his birth and education amongst Friends and made profession with us from his youth up to this time) viz that he disbelieved in the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as being perfectly God as well as man, it became the tender Concern of Friends to enquire of him whether he had given occation for such a report by believing and uttering as above, the which he did not deny but rather appear'd to vindicate, and notwithstanding our earnest Labour of Love from time to time cannot be prevailed with to decline such a belief and by publick testimony Clear our Society from the great reproach of being unsound in the Christian Faith, Wherefore fully believing in the Miraculous Conception, birth, Miracles death, Glorious Resurrection and Ascention of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as recorded in holy writ: we can do no less for the clearing of truth than give forth this testimony against such [illegible] dark notions and hereby declare the said John Batram to be no member of our Christian Society Untill by Unfeigned repentance he renounces his Corrupt [illegible] opinions and witness forgiveness for the same the which we sincerely desire he may

Given Forth by Our Monthly Meeting
held at Darby the 1 day of the 1st 1758
and on behalf and by Order of the same
Signed By Abra.m Bonsall Clk

Facsimile of letter of disownment of John Bartram as prepared by a committee of Darby Monthly Meeting but corrected before adoption by the Meeting. The two words crossed out appear to be "blasphemous" and "heresies." For an account of the disownment see this BULLETIN 17 (1928), 16 ff. From a photograph taken by Gilbert Cope and loaned by Albert Cook Myers for the preparation of the cut.

Inventory of Church Archives: Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey, Works Projects Administration. Philadelphia, Friends Historical Association, 1941. 398 pp. Lithoprinted; $2.00; but libraries, historical societies, and members of Friends Historical Association, may order from the Secretary at $1.00 per copy. Distributed through Friends Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, or Friends Central Bureau, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia.

THE organization of the varied data such as are required for an inventory of all Quaker archives in Pennsylvania, however useful to the historian and to the occasional searcher, is the sort of enterprise that society can ordinarily only afford during a great depression—or when, as in the case of Hinshaw's *Anthology of American Quaker Genealogy,* a single individual dedicates himself to a nonremunerative but socially valuable task. The present volume betrays a few signs of being a pioneer work—after all, it was what some called mere boondoggling. The print, reproduced in reduced size from typewritten sheets, is neither so beautiful nor so legible as ordinary printing would be; and the limitations of typewriting are such that it is not always possible to indicate clearly by what plan the sections and subsections are arranged. Moreover, the minutiae of editorial technique, especially valuable in such a book, do not show the patient care of the seasoned practitioner. The first footnote (p. 3) lists Rufus M. Jones, *The Quaker in the American Colonies* ("Quaker" for "Quakers"); the first paragraph in Part B (p. 37), where the catalog of the meetings and their various records begins, has the parenthetical direction: (See Explanatory Notes, No. 1, p.)—with the cricial page number omitted. (It should be p. 360.) Near the bottom of p. 12 we read: "his followers joined him in the establish church"; on p. 104: "a redish brown color"; "the person to be intered" (in a graveyard); "a plain, quiet, unceremonious burial"; p. 189, in entry 158, the reference to entry 419 should be to entry 421. But these are minor matters.

The volume has so much detail that one can learn of its resources, and the way of availing oneself of them, only by actual use of the book; but some indication of its scope can be given. After introductions and a map of old Philadelphia showing the locations of the early meetings, Part A (pp. 3-31) begins with a brief historical memorandum which tells something of the religious background in England, the views of early Friends, and the settlement of Penn's followers, and outlines the peculiar Quaker outward practices and church government, closing with accounts of the various separatist movements. Part B (pp. 37-347) contains the successive "entries," numbered 1 to 467, which embrace the meetings (1-409) and Friends' institutions (410-467). The typical entry for a meeting gives the location and a brief history, often with a bibliography; and states where the official records of the meeting are to be found, volume by volume. Some disconcerting facts turn up: the registers for births and deaths, and for marriages and membership, at Haverford Meeting, Buck

Lane, from 1904 to 1917, are noted as being "not available"; similarly of the financial records of Western District Monthly Meeting (Twelfth Street), Philadelphia, from 1814 to 1925, the notation is "information not obtainable." The entries for institutions are said to be arranged in chronological order, presumably by the date of foundation; and one gets the impression from the last one, Sunny Crest Farm, dated 1855, that the organizing zeal of Friends must have died down to zero in the last ninety years—till one notes Pendle Hill, a few entries earlier, dated 1930, and realizes that there must be some mistake—probably a last-minute entry could not be inserted in its proper place.

The book has further a glossary, containing such terms as *advices, denial, indulged meeting, particular meeting, testimony;* a list of meetings subordinate to Philadelphia but lying outside the State; a bibliography (in which alas this BULLETIN is not mentioned, though the Philadelphia EVENING BULLETIN is); and finally an "Alphabetical Index to Entries in the Quaker Volume." Altogether an extraordinarily interesting and useful book, and one that, as it becomes known, will be recognized as indispensable to the student of Quakerism in Philadelphia.

T. K. B.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By HENRY J. CADBURY

PROFESSOR Marion M. Thompson Wright of Howard University, in her book on *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey* (Contributions to Education, No. 815, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York, 1941), devotes Chapter iii (pp. 13-33) to the Society of Friends. In addition to the usual printed materials on Friends and slavery she has used the minutes of New Jersey meetings, and the manuscript minutes and correspondence of the Society for the Free Instruction of Orderly Blacks and People of Colour.

ANTI-QUAKER writers of the olden days frequently concentrated on Barclay's *Apology.* In the *Congregational Quarterly* xviii (1940), pp. 401 ff, T. A. Bampton, a Baptist minister, criticizes "Barclay on War." He regards Barclay's view as too absolutist, too indifferent to the implications of literalism and to the dilemma of an uncompromising pacifism. Does the author confuse Robert with his father in quoting Whittier on the "Laird of Ury"?

WE ARE indebted again to the *American-German Review* (viii (1941), p. 7f.) and to Gerhard Friedrich for publishing "The Earliest History of Germantown. An Unknown Pastorius Manuscript." The brief manuscript, now in the Cassell collection at Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa., is an English parallel to the well known German record "Grund- und Lager-Buch" but contains some independent material.

MILTON RUBINCAM again contributes an article of Quaker interest to the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, 58 (1940), 202-215, 254-266, dealing with "John Barclay of Perth Amboy." John was the son of Colonel David Barclay of Urie, and brother of Robert the Quaker apologist. He came to East Jersey about 1684 and after a life active in affairs of the province he died there in 1731. John Barclay was like others of his family a Quaker, but by 1702 he was a sympathizer with Keith, and he became prominent in the affairs of St. Peter's Church at Perth Amboy.

THE well-known historian of the Episcopal Church, Edgar Legare Pennington, has contributed to the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 51 (1941), 95-186, an article on the "Reverend Robert Jenney" (1687-1762), which is especially valuable to the student of Quakerism in Pennsylvania because of its 65-page well documented review of the "Beginning of the Church of England in Pennsylvania," showing how the leaders of that church felt they were at a disadvantage in the province, especially because of the Quaker schools and the political and economic supremacy of Quakerism.

EBERHARD TEUFEL, of Fellbach near Stuttgart, has prepared an elaborate review of recent literature on continental reformation movements akin to Quakerism. Although it is entitled "Täufertum und Quäkertum in Lichte der neueren Forschung," to judge from the bibliography and first instalment, published in the *Theologische Rundschau*, 13 (1941), 21-57, it throws less light on Quakerism than on Anabaptists and Mennonites. Thus far, David Joris, Menno Simons, and Konrad Grebel have received special attention.

A DISSERTATION entitled *Het Inwartsche Licht bij de Quakers*, by Dr. G. L. van Delfsen (Ploegsma, Zeist, 1940), has been printed in Holland. According to a review in *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 30 (1941), 195 f, the authoress deals with the Inner Light as related to Quaker piety and worship, and also to doctrine, to the Church, and to Scripture. The book itself I have not seen.

AMONG references in popular magazines to contemporary Quaker pacifism or service may be mentioned the following articles:

"The Lord's Battalions," *Fortune* 22 (December 1940), 68-72.

"They Build their own at Penncraft," *Scholastic* 39 (1941), 14-15.

"Onward, Christian Soldiers!" *Saturday Evening Post*, August 16, 1941, pp. 27, 53-56.

"We Object," *Pic*, October 14, 1941.

"Everybody Trusts a Quaker," *Coronet*, July 1941, pp. 55-58.

AFTER some vicissitudes because it was originally being printed in Belgium, the first number of the first volume of a new periodical called *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, sponsored by the Warburg Institute, London, has now appeared. It contains a brief article (pp. 130-132), "Spinoza and a Quaker Document of 1657," in which Henry J. Cadbury elaborates the probability that Swarthmore MSS iv. 28 is the earliest substantial reference extant to the young Jewish philosopher. The late William I. Hull referred to this possible identification in *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*, Swarthmore 1938, p. 205.

FOR one phase of the background of early Quakerism may be recommended *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army*, by the late Sir Charles Firth, assisted by Godfrey Davies (Oxford Press, 1940, 2 vols.). It gives as far as possible the history and leadership of each regiment of foot and each troop of horse. There are references to Quakers turned out of the army, and to other ex-soldiers, though M. E. Hirst's convenient list does not seem known to the authors. The principal sources are State Papers and order books. Journals, including that of Fox, are used.

AMONG answers in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 180 (1941), on Quaker themes are those on "The Abraham Family of Swarthmore Hall," by A. J. H. (Wigan), p. 14; "John Thorp," by J. L. Nickalls, p. 62; and "Fenelon and the Quakers" and "Anthony Benezet," both by H. J. Cadbury, p. 122.

There is an article in 181:11 on Mary Taft (1701-1763), wife of Joshua, journeyman clothier. She was a famous impostor. Is her husband the same as the Quaker Joshua Taft (d. 1760) of Leek, Staffordshire?

IT HAS BEEN KNOWN from early minutes of the Yearly Meeting and of monthly meetings in Philadelphia that Friends proposed to meet the problem of slavery there by discouraging Friends in the West Indies from sending slaves to them. But that anything was actually done along these lines has not been known until Henry J. Cadbury unearthed, and published in *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 27 (1942), 210-215, a copy of a letter on the subject sent to the General Meeting of Friends in Barbados in October, 1698. The article is entitled "Another Early Quaker Anti-Slavery Document."

THE *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 51 (1941), 21-36, contains a description of the "Brown Papers" at the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island, by James B. Hedges. Dating from 1726 to 1913 and totaling approximately 350,000 pieces, they are treated here for their interest as a business record. But they contain much of importance to Quaker history, since Moses Brown and many of his correspondents were Friends. Further papers of the family, especially of Moses Brown, are at the Rhode Island Historical Society.

ALTHOUGH it belongs to local Episcopal histories, the book entitled *Crown of Life: History of Christ Church, New Bern, N. C., 1715-1940,* by Gertrude S. Carraway (New Bern 1940), contains in its earlier pages many references to Quakerism in the colony and the neighborhood.

NOT ONLY as English background will students of early Quaker social theory find much of value in *The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders 1660-1688* by Rich. B. Schlatter (Oxford 1940), with profuse citations from Baxter, Bunyan, Tillotson, and their less famous contemporaries. The Quakers' views are summarized in some detail in a separate Appendix III (pp. 235-243), which though it is confessedly secondary, relying mainly on W. C. Braithwaite and Isabel Grubb, clearly shows the attitude of Friends in the Restoration period in comparison with their parallels.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices that have appeared in recent issues of the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Waldo Beach, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut. *The Meaning and Authority of Conscience in Seventeenth Century English Protestant Thought.* (A study of the nature of "conscience" as variously conceived by Anglicans, Puritans, Baptists, Quakers, Levellers, Diggers, etc., with its relationship to the problem of religious liberty.) Yale, Religion, Ph.D. Material being gathered.

Harry D. Berg, Durham, New Hampshire. *Merchants and Mercantile Life of Colonial Philadelphia, 1748 to 1763.* (A study of the business mechanism and its operation.) University of Iowa, History, Ph.D. 1940. Completed.

George DeCou, 36 E. Main Street, Moorestown, New Jersey. *Burlington City, a Provincial Capital.* (Sketches of early Burlington and its neighborhood.) Practically completed.

John Hope Franklin, St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina. *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790 to 1860.* (A critical study of the growth and distribution of the group, and of their legal, social, and economic status. Includes some account of the part played by Friends in manumission and colonization.) Harvard, History, Ph.D. 1941. Completed.

J. Calvin Keene, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. *The Doctrine of Guidance in the Oxford Group Movement.* (This work includes an appendix entitled, "The Doctrine of Guidance in the Early Quakers," pp. 281-303.) Yale, Philosophy of Religion, Ph.D. 1937. Completed.

Glenna Vere Kneeland (Mrs. Richard C.), 6187 S. E. Taylor Court, Portland Oregon. (Research on social aspects of eighteenth-century Philadelphia, with special reference to the interest of Friends in the reform of hospitals for the treatment of mental diseases. Material being gathered in preparation for the writing of a novel, to be completed in two or three years.)

Fred Landon, Librarian, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada. *The Life of Benjamin Lundy.* (A study of his travels and activities in furtherance of the antislavery cause in the United States.) Material partly gathered and writing commenced.

Henry G. Russell, 11 Belmont Street, Brunswick, Maine. *Quaker Opposition to Oaths in its Historical Setting.* Research commenced.

Constance Spink, 468 Gerhard Street, Roxborough, Philadelphia, Pa. *The Great Schism of 1828.* (Emphasis is placed on what is being done to reunite the various groups of Friends, particularly the Hicksite and Orthodox branches.) Completed.

John Joseph Stoudt, Allentown, Pennsylvania. *The Dialectical Mysticism of Jacob Boehme.* (In three sections: empirical, speculative, and critical.) University of Edinburgh, New College, Philosophical Theology, Ph.D. 1942. Nearly finished.

Theodore G. Thayer, 305 West Green Street, Ithaca, New York. *Israel Pemberton, King of the Quakers.* University of Pennsylvania, History, Ph.D. 1942. Completed.

Esther Clark Wright (Mrs. C. P.), 82 Waterloo Row, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada. *The Loyalists and Pre-Loyalists of New Brunswick.* (An account of the Friends' settlement at Beaver Harbour, Charlotte County.) Research partly completed.

James Harvey Young, 1103 Cottage Hill Avenue, Decatur, Illinois. *Anna Elizabeth Dickinson and the Civil War.* (A study of the oratorical efforts of this young Quaker in behalf of the abolitionists and the Republican radicals.) University of Illinois, History, Ph.D. 1941. Research partly completed.

FRIENDS HISTORICAL LIBRARY, SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

The picture shows the main Library building. Friends Historical Library is housed in the wing shown at the right. It has a separate entrance, but is connected with the main Library.